UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Who Are China's Real Enemies?

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

America Should Act

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

A Call to Service

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

The Theistic Faith of India

By CHARLES W. WENDTE

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXVII THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1921 NUMBER 6

A DESCANT.

When Spring comes tripping o'er the lea,
And grasses start to meet her,
The bluebird sings
With quivering wings
Brief rhapsodies to greet her;
And deems—fond minstrel!—none may be,
The wide world over, blithe as he.

And where the brooklet tinkles by,
And the yellow snow-drop dances,
And wind-flowers frail
And bloodroots pale
Lift up appealing glances,
The flute-voiced meadow lark on high
Sings, "None on earth is glad as I!"

Laughs Corydon, "Your hearts are bold,
Yet little ye can measure,
Poor, silly birds,
Spring's sweetest words,
Or guess at my proud pleasure,
When Phyllis comes, and all the wold,
For sudden joy, buds into gold!"

The Century. —*Florence Earle Coates.*

Mr. Lansing's remarkbale book, "The Peace Negotiations," we hope to have adequately reviewed in these columns in due season. Meanwhile we call the attention of our readers to the judgment of the ex-Secretary of State on the Peace Treaty and League Covenant, written down in his diary on May 8, 1919, and now reaffirmed:

"The terms of peace," says Mr. Lansing, "appear immeasurably harsh and humiliating. . . . *The League is an instrument of the mighty to check the normal growth of national power and national aspirations among those who have been rendered impotent by defeat.* . . . This war was fought by the United States to destroy forever the conditions which produced it. These conditions have not been destroyed. They have been supplanted by other conditions equally productive of hatred, jealousy, and suspicion."

Here is authoritative confirmation of everything that we have said about the peace from the day of its pronouncement. We commend Mr. Lansing's words to those of our readers who have been disturbed or outraged by our criticisms, especially his characterization of the League of Nations! This has been our opinion from the beginning—that the League as a matter of fact is not a league at all, but a gigantic conspiracy of the great powers for the control of the world to their own perpetual advantage, and therefore an arrangement destined to bring to earth not peace but new and greater wars. We wonder now how many of those who have supported the League—college presidents, editors of secular and religious journals, clergymen, publicists, etc.—will have the decency to confess that they were bamboozled, and surrender forthwith their ridiculous obsession!

So Lenin has changed! At least the Lenin of the newspapers. This man who has given his life to communism, who for three years has battled for its defense against every form of war, rebellion and conspiracy, and who now has triumphant opportunity to work out his ideas and establish his system of social order—this man we are today asked to believe has suddenly surrendered his ideas and capitulated to capitalism! Such a spectacle is about as likely as that of the leopard changing his spots. The New York *Times*, too much obsessed by its hatred of Bolshevism to be fooled by this canard, or to be willing to be made the tool of its sponsors, rightly declares that Lenin "has announced no change of heart . . . renounced no doctrines." What has happened, of course, is a change not in Lenin but in the world which has opposed him. The jig of destroying Bolshevism is now up; no more invasions can be organized, no more revolts fomented and financed. Lenin must be recognized—which means that he must be suddenly proved to be respectable! Hence the deliberate campaign now being carried on in all our newspapers to prove that the Russian premier has come to the mourner's bench, to repent his sins and accept conversion. A horrid pill has to be swallowed, and this is the way it is sugar-coated! Such lies would make one weep, were it not for the sardonic smile which one can see breaking anew over the Leninian countenance.

A distinguished New York banker, Mr. Herbert K. Twitchell, President of the Chemical National Bank, testifies that there is a "widespread slump (today) in business morality." In specification of his charges, he cites repudiations of contracts, cancellations of orders, evasions of obligations, all of which have become a commonplace in recent months. The business man's bond, in other words, is no good; his promise cannot be trusted.

"The War and the business situation that followed the war," says Mr. Twitchell, "have left the human race on a lower ethical level than it was before. . . . Bankers see every day new evidences of the weakening of moral fibre."

Thus, in still one more field of human life, war works its havoc! Nothing apparently is left untouched by this monstrous calamity. So far from bringing about a spiritual revival, as was so glibly promised us during the struggle against Germany, war has simply swept us clean of whatever morality and idealism we have had in the beginning. That war is wholly and perfectly corruptive in its influence, is

now demonstrated if anything can be demonstrated. But how many of us will remember it when the next war comes along?

In the New York *Herald* the other day appeared the following paragraph:

> You perhaps know already that for quality help in quantity the New York *Herald* help wanted columns are unsurpassed. This is the testimony of thousands of patrons. One firm who advertised in the *Herald* for an executive reported that they received 300 written replies. *Picture an array of 300 applicants from which to fill one position!* The most exacting employer could not hope for more nor need as many.

Was there ever a more delightful picture! Think of it—three hundred applicants (count them!) for one job! This is indeed a veritable paradise for employers—and a perfect demonstration of the fact that, under our present social arrangements, the interests of the employing class are in inverse ratio to the interests of the common people. Unemployment is one of the most terrible ills that can afflict a community—it is wasteful, demoralizing, destructive. Its consequences can only be compared with those which follow upon a conflagration or a pestilence. And yet here is one of the typical newspapers representative of the capitalistic system, rejoicing in the fact that there are three hundred men eager to secure a single position! It reminds us of the pathetic circumstance that when the armistice in 1918 was signed, and peace at last came once again in sight, the New York stock market suffered a disastrous slump. And yet there are those who can see nothing particularly wrong with the existing order! For ourselves, we believe this order to be so fundamentally wrong that nothing short of a revolutionary substitution of public service for private profit can avail to set things right.

The progress of the prohibition movement in Great Britain seems to be pretty much a matter of dispute. There is definite assurance, however, that in so unexpected a place as the far eastern empire of Japan, prohibition is making rapid and sure advance. Agitation for the abolition of the liquor traffic in the Mikado's realm started a quarter of a century or so ago, principally among the Japanese who have been converted to Christianity. The coming of the Great War gave impetus to the cause in Japan as elsewhere, especially in the industrial centers. Now after protracted discussion and negotiations, we are informed that all the various societies fighting the liquor traffic have united in what is called the Japanese National Prohibition League, and measures are being taken to start on a large scale, propaganda against liquor in every form. It is encouraging to note that according to *Jiji*, a well known Japanese paper, the present agitation has gained strength largely from the example of the United States. For the disgraceful conditions of law enforcement, or lack of enforcement, now prevailing in this country, we may perhaps find compensation in this news that our example, whatever its temporary failures in this matter of practice, is proving effective in other and far-flung quarters of the world.

The murders on the Williams farm in Georgia, unspeakably horrible as they are, come as a matter of surprise only to those who are unfamiliar with Negro conditions in the South. Peonage, which is a polite name for slavery as malnutrition is a polite name for starvation, has long been practiced on a large scale in many sections of the southern states. Murder of Negroes, for real or fancied offences, is as unimportant an incident of social life in that part of the country, as the killing of a dog; only when such murder is made a public festival, like a barbecue, does it ever attract any attention. A Negro in the South simply has no rights which a white man has any desire or will to respect. Of course, in this Williams case, there is much loud talk about "the best sentiment" in the South being opposed to maltreatment of the blacks. But where is such sentiment to be found? Why does it not express itself in governors, mayors, judges, clergymen, etc.? What is it worth when, in a period of more than a generation, it has accomplished nothing in the way of abolishing peonage, preventing lynching, or even providing decent education for Negro children? It is high time that the people of this nation came to realize that the southerners do not understand the Negro, as they boast, have no intention of doing him justice or granting him liberty, are resolutely set to the grim business of making and keeping him a slave. If there were any considerable group of white men in the South who were willing to "go to the bat" on this issue, it might be possible to leave the South alone to handle the question. Failing this, however, it is the business of the nation to intervene, that its citizens may be given the protection and privileges to which they are entitled. If a whole world could go to war to save Belgium from the Germans, it might seem as though this republic could at least take the civil action necessary to redeem the Negro from his oppressors.

UNITY has printed so much testimony as to the decline of the Protestant churches in these days that it is a positive relief to find some testimony on the other side. We are ourselves convinced that the situation in this country, as in England, is about as bad as it can be; but we want to present all the facts that are available, and thus have all the material possible at our disposal for judgment. The good news which prompts these observations is contained in the report of the church census for 1920, which shows

that the losses of 1919, which were so alarming, have been more than overcome during this past year. *The Christian Herald* (March 12) declares that the figures constitute "an inspiring record of spiritual progress." Thus, the Methodist Church, which was shown with a loss in 1919 of 69,940 members, is credited with a gain in 1920 of 157,912 members. The Presbyterian Church is reported to have gained this last year practically the same number of members that it lost the year before—namely, a gain of 31,958 as contrasted with a loss of 32,308. The Baptists are estimated to have increased their total by over 129,000 and the Catholics by 127,579. We are frank in saying that these figures surprise us, as we find them unconfirmed by conditions in those church fields with which we are familiar. We wish that such figures might be accompanied by some explanation of where gains are being recorded and how they are being won. Especially do we wish that we had some test of the accuracy of these statistics. However, we have no desire to raise questions or express dubitations. It is evident that the Protestant Church, like the Catholic, still feels the momentum of past achievement, and is destined to survive a long time after the passing of the age which produced it.

Some weeks ago we printed in these columns a "want ad" published by a minister seeking a pulpit. Now comes to us the news of a "want ad" published by a Universalist Church in Boston, under the classification, "Male Help Wanted," for a minister "between 30 and 40 years old, who is a good parish worker." We wonder why these two precedent-breaking spirits, the minister and the church, cannot get together! A clergyman bold enough to advertise his want of a pulpit, ought to satisfy a church bold enough to advertise its want of a pastor. Whether this happy eventuality comes to pass or not, we at least have here two striking adventures in commonsense, which are worthy of imitation. We shall be interested to see if this practice grows!

Has the American stage undergone an improvement in moral tone during this past winter? A friend writes us that he has been to twenty-three plays in New York, and has not seen one which is salacious or immoral. This is impressive testimony, and would seem to indicate improvement; for we know that such an achievement would not have been possible a year ago. As to the excellent quality of many of the dramas which have been presented, there can be no question. A season which has witnessed Shaw's "Heartbreak House," Galsworthy's "The Mob" and "The Skin Game," Barrie's "Mary Rose," Ervine's "Mixed Marriage," Drinkwater's "Maria Stuart," O'Neill's "Emperor Jones" and "Diff'rent," Zona Gale's "Miss Lulu Bett," Guitry's "Debureau," and a courageously original though disastrous performance of "Macbeth," to say nothing of such delightful if unimportant plays as "Enter Madame," "Wake Up, Jonathan!" and "The First Year," has some claims at least to being recognized as an important season. We have so often expressed in these columns our despair over the American theater, that we are now glad to register this word of encouragement. It is never so dark, after all, but what light is ready to break!

The N. A. A. C. P. and the Urban League

This month has been selected as the time for the annual "drives" of two organizations which deserve the support of every citizen who believes in human brotherhood and inter-racial friendliness. We refer to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League—associations which are organized for the purpose of promoting understanding between the colored and white races and furthering justice and fair dealing. The former organization is of long standing and has had upon its list of officers and directors for many years the names of some of the foremost white and colored citizens of this country. It is concerned more particularly with race problems of national scope, with the investigation and prevention of lynching, of unfair legislation and segregation laws. The Urban Leagues, of which there are local branches in a number of large cities, are more concerned with local problems, housing conditions, employment, research work, investigation of the causes of riots and other outbreaks of race antagonism. The membership of each of these organizations is made of both races, the financial support comes from both races, and every effort is made to have this support come more and more from the members of the colored race, the growing feeling among them being that they must learn to help themselves.

We are printing in The Field this week such information concerning these organizations as will enable those of our readers who are interested to reach them and co-operate with them.

One who comes in touch with these groups is at once struck with the fine quality of leadership which is being developed within them. They have a surprising number of brilliant and able young men and women, graduates from colleges and universities, who possess not only organizing ability but also vision and human sensitiveness, qualities which in the white race are so often lacking in conjunction with the organizing gift. The devotion and courage of these leaders, their wide knowledge and understanding of the difficult problems which they are handling with such marked ability, their patience in the face of provocation, their charming personalities, may well serve as object les-

sons to their white brothers and sisters who are engaged in various forms of social service.

To one who is privileged to know some of these young men and women, it is an ever increasing wonder that race prejudice still exists. We doubt if even the most rabid Negro-hater of the South or the most bitter property-owner in one of the "invaded districts" of the North, could be intimately associated for a week with any one of a dozen Negro men and women whom we could name from one group in one city alone, and still maintain a shred of race prejudice.

In the attitude of the white toward the Negro more completely than anywhere else is prejudice the result of ignorance. We do not know each other. We do not use our brains. We insist on judging this one race by its lowest members and ignoring utterly its leaders—its artists and musicians, editors, lawyers, physicians, ministers and social workers. But even so, those of its members who have not yet had opportunities for culture and economic advancement compare favorably, to say the least, with those of other races similarly circumstanced. Witness a most interesting incident which occurred recently in a crowded city street car. A middle-aged working-class colored man was seated in the car when a well dressed young white woman came in and clung to a strap immediately in front of him. He did not offer her his seat. Neither did any of the white men sitting near. Presently an Italian woman, bare-headed, poorly dressed, carrying one child in her arm and leading another by the hand pushed down the crowded aisle. Instantly the colored man arose and offered her his seat while the white woman who was standing prevented a white man from taking it before the Italian woman could reach it. This instance formed a delightful contrast to another which the writer once saw when a white man peremptorily ordered a young colored woman to leave her seat that he might have room to occupy twice his rightful amount of space by sitting sideways to look out of the window. We regret to say that the young woman obeyed his command.

Not only does the prejudiced white ignore the cultured members of the colored race, but he also forgets the fact that that race is only a little over fifty years from slavery, fifty years from almost complete illiteracy, fifty years from a state of entire social and financial irresponsibility. It is trite to say that no race in the history of humanity has made such amazing progress in so short a time, and yet it is necessary to say it again and again. Even the reiterations of the sociologist and the anthropologist that there are no "inferior" and "superior" races, but only races which have had more or less opportunity for development, fall on deaf ears.

We entirely overlook the many fine racial characteristics of the Negro, some of which could well be assimilated by the Anglo-Saxon. Their warm-heartedness, kindliness, loyalty, openness to any friendly approach, the absence of the Anglo-Saxon hauteur, aloofness, and frigidity make them refreshing and inspiring comrades and work-fellows. Their interest in human rather than commercial values, in living rather than in making a living, might well be emulated by the hard-headed American business man. In ways too numerous to mention the colored race has a very real and unique contribution to make to humanity, and the obstacles which white prejudice and ignorance place in the way of their making that contribution are but so many obstacles in the way of the progress of the human family, and serve but to rob the white race of much that would be of incalculable value in its own development.

SUSAN QUACKENBUSH.

CONTRIBUTED

Who Are China's Real Enemies?

On all hands we are given to understand that China's danger lies in the direction of Japan. Is there not another direction in which her danger is greater? Are not the nations of Europe the foes she most needs to fear?

All the sources of information are so controlled, and have been ever since the beginning of the war in 1914, and even earlier, that it is almost impossible to get any news from China that is favorable to Japan; although everything that is unfavorable comes to us, and generally in the most exaggerated form. On the other hand, news unfavorable to the European nations, particularly to England and France, is held back, "doctored" or suppressed; but everything favorable to these powers is sent to us with the greatest freedom and fullness. These statements seem incredible; but they are true. If one travels in China, and comes really into contact with the people, he finds this out.

There is a widespread and deep feeling in China that her greatest danger is the West. The most deadly injury done to China in modern times was the pressing of opium upon her at the cannon's mouth. That was not done by Japan, but by a European power. The curse of ex-territoriality is forced on China not by Japan, but by the western nations. China is robbed of nearly all her customs duties, not by Japan, but by Europe. The Boxer uprising in China was not directed against Japan, but against the foreigners from the West. We have heard no end of condemnation of Japan in connection with Shantung, when as a fact from the very first Japan promised to return the province to China, only reserving a single seaport and certain railway and mining concessions. Why did we not hear condemnation of the earlier and worse aggressions of Germany in Shantung?

The aggressions of other European nations, particularly Great Britain, have been far greater in China than have been those of Japan. There is hardly an important city in China that has not been compelled to give over its finest residential section, and also often its best business section, to the European, and in most cases tax free. Great Britain owns the large Chinese city of Hongkong, together with what is

perhaps the most important harbor and naval station in the East, and a large territory around the city and harbor. These she compelled China to cede to her. Great Britain owns (owns by seizure) the very important naval station of Wei-hai-wei, from which she can easily control Peking, the Chinese capital, Tientsin, the port of Peking, and a large part of north China. Great Britain controls and virtually owns (by force) the great city of Shanghai, the metropolis of the vast valley of the Yangtze-kiang, the richest and most populous section of China. Why have the papers told us none of these things?

Why have we heard so much about Japan's "Twenty-one Demands" on China, and not one word about England's more arrogant and more severe "Twelve Demands," which mean practically the robbing of China of vast Tibet, rich in minerals and other natural resources, and annexing her immense territory to the British Empire.

During the war, in October, 1916, France seized 333 acres in the very heart of Tien-tsin, a city of a million population—lands containing wharfage, streets, houses, shops, etc. The city protested, so did the national government of China, so did every Chinese province. The whole nation was aflame with indignation and protest. To understand the magnitude of such an outrage, let us imagine a foreign government seizing 333 acres in the heart of Boston, or Baltimore, or New York, running up its flag over it, guarding it with its own foreign soldiers, and holding it as a permanent possession. Why did we hear nothing of all this in this country? I think I am right in saying that not one single American paper published one word about it. If an outrage one-quarter as great had been perpetrated in China by Japan, every American paper would have published the news of it under sensational headlines, and the whole country would have rung with denunciations of Japan's crime.

Even if we suppose Japan intended to retain permanent possession of the province of Shantung, as she has never proposed to do, how then would her holdings or spheres of influence (virtual holdings) in China compare with those of the leading European powers? Let us see. Here are the figures:

	Square miles
England has Tibet	533,000
Szechwan	218,000
Kwantung	86,000
Provinces of Yangtze-kiang Valley	362,000
Total	1,199,000

or nearly 28 per cent of the total area of China.

Russia has (or had before the war)

Outer Mongolia	1,000,000
Che-Kiang	1,548,000
Three quarters of Manchuria	273,000
Total	2,821,000

or 42 per cent of the total area of China. (This probably will not be retained by Russia. The Soviet Government has notified China that it is all to be restored to her.)

France has Yunnan	146,700

or between 3 and 4 per cent of the total area of China.

Japan has South Manchuria	90,000
Mongolia	50,000
Fukien	46,000
Shantung (supposing that she retains it)	55,000
Total	241,000

or between 5 and 6 per cent of the total area of China.

Thus we see that, by any reckoning, Great Britain has under her control (as her "sphere of influence" or as her absolute possession) nearly five times as large a part of China as has Japan, and much of it is of the highest value: Szechwan is China's richest agricultural province; the Yangtze provinces are China's best tea growing area, and Kwantung contains the important and wealthy seaport of Hongkong.

The above is not intended as a justification of Japan's entire conduct toward China. The best Japanese leaders confess mistakes and severities on the part of their government, which they regret and are seeking to amend. But why is it that we constantly hear of Japan's "aggressions" in China, and not a word about the large holdings, the far greater aggressions, of these other nations? Is it not quite time that the most dangerous aggressors against China were known in this country, and were not allowed any longer to use Japan as a "smoke screen" to hide their far worse deeds?

New York. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

America Should Act

This is the day and this is the hour for every man and woman who believes in the organization of the world to unite for action. The old world ways have failed, miserably failed. Let no man today talk of the wisdom of the diplomats and the statesmanship of the leaders of mankind in the past generation.

The world stands on the brink of ruin. The armaments which all but bankrupted the nations of the world in the making proved only to be means of a rapid descent into the Avernus. Instead of being safety appliances they were fire traps. When General Maurice does not hesitate to say that armies provoke war instead of preventing it we need not look for further testimony.

But we do not need testimony of experts. All we have to do is to look at the scene of desolation and misery which is on every hand. This ought to convince every lover of mankind that now is the time for action. The hour of debate is past. The Victor Hugos of the last century piled in argument Pelion on Ossa but all to no effect. The men of the world, immersed in petty problems of personal gain, would not heed. But now they must heed. It is not a theory but a condition which confronts us.

Is America going to lead the world to a new life or is it going to lead the world into a maelstrom of ruin? The test of a nation, as of an individual, is its ability to learn from experience. Ten years ago it did not seem possible that the leaders of our beloved country could ever be so blind that they could not read the signs of the times written so plainly on the broad surface of the earth that a "wayfaring man though a fool cannot err therein." But the possibility is here and upon us. We hear talk of the biggest navy on the seas, a navy that can whip the navy of any other nation. There are appropriations for the making of poison gases in quantities that can destroy when used entire populations, men, women and children. And this is defended in high places as a humane method of warfare. The demand for universal military training, though apparently scotched for the moment, is still urged by men whose vision is limited to the Stone Age.

Yes, this is the day and this is the hour for men of vision, of faith to unite. To argue the waste of war today is as much to the point as cloistered scholastic debates on the number of angels that can balance their celestial selves on the point of a needle.

It is a waste of time and of energy to convince men of the horror of war; its waste and folly and cruelty. To endeavor to convince men that armies make for peace is as futile as to endeavor to convince deluded minds that the world is not flat but round. The men that hold these views are helpless and hopeless.

If we are ever to build a new world we must find a plan. We must unite on a program. While Rome burns we run to and fro debating whether we shall use a steam engine or a gasoline motor. The liberal democratic forces of the world seem to have abandoned the League of Nations. America has said, "We will have none of it." If not the League of Nations, what shall we have?

If America has the greatest opportunity ever offered any nation to lead the world to peace and progress, what is she doing to take it? The word electric has not yet been spoken. As a nation we are dumb when the world awaits our voice. There is much running to and fro, much debate but no "Voice."

The peace societies are impotent. Politicians have only advised retreat. Nowhere in America is there any effort to do the one thing needed, and that is to find some means to answer the heart's desire of mankind. The peoples of the earth want to be shown a Way. The need is for new institutions to take the place of those which have so completely failed. We must have now the machinery of peace.

If America is to lead the way the people of America must agree upon some plan of action. Until we can humanity waits on our delay and sinks lower and lower in the Slough of Despond.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

A Call to Service

When the world was sober welfare in life depended mainly on individual effort. The call to a young man concerned his care for his afterself, that the man he ought to be might in his time be possible, be actual.

In these trying days there comes the larger call for help in a world sick even unto death. Europe's calamities one and all spring from the fear of the loss of power on the part of men both weak and bad who have wrested control from the hands of the people. The first crash in the downward plunge is the loss of human values. "A man's life," says Herbert Hoover, "is worth three cents on the Eastern frontier, three dollars on the Western." This is a terrible cheapening, and all our measures of value have gone down with it. For inflation of currency is merely failure of credit.

The gold a nation wastes in war itself is the life blood of working men and women. In the holocaust all human values depreciate alike. A man's honor is more lightly held, a woman's modesty is no longer a precious jewel, the path to crime is the line of least resistance; all our pleasures are tainted with vulgarity, our search for the best is satiated with the second best, and high resolve is chilled and derided.

The continent of Europe has been likened to a basket of snakes, each trying to rear its head above the rest. Meanwhile the children, the men and women of the future, those whom above all else we should cherish, suffer as never before since the dawn of time. Verily, as has been said, "This earth is now no place for babies." And so Europe calls to America, the one land relatively sane and solvent, for service in direst need, not for money alone, nor even for food, but for moral strength to resist the fatal trend, to help bring civilization back to the solid ground of honest purpose, to substitute for hatred, jealousy and discord, the wholesome power of mutual aid. Our young men and women are hearing this appeal. It means a new revival of an old religion.

Jesus taught the doctrine of personal responsibility. Casting aside all traditions of creed, ceremonies and emotionalism, he taught us to worship God through faith in man. It is said that he was the first true Democrat who ever lived. He was a respecter of personality, not of persons. He taught us to deal with our neighbor as man to man and to pray as man to God. He taught that all men are our neighbors, and that whatever injustice we do to the least of these falls likewise on us. He taught the sanctity of human values, that loving man is our only way to the love of God. To the young and strong in this our century comes the call for human service as never before in the life time of the world.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

The Theistic Faith of India

Babu Nilmani Dhar recently gave an illuminating address on the Belief of the Brahmo Samaj, or Association of Hindu Theists, at Agra, India, from which the following extracts are made. He first stated the credo of the Brahmos as follows:

1. In the beginning God alone existed, there was nothing besides Him. He created all things.
2. He is omniscient, infinite, all-merciful, omnipresent, formless, one without a second and perfect.
3. All temporal and spiritual good is derived by worshipping Him.
4. To love Him and to do His will is to worship Him.

These articles of faith he proceeded to explain and justify, and closed his discourse by saying:

Such is the faith of the Brahmo Samaj. You will see from the above that our religion is pure monotheism and our worship is pure spiritual worship. The poet Rabindranath in one of his songs says: "Thou dost not ask for food or drink, but asketh our love." Or as the Bible says: "Thou desirest not sacrifice but a contrite heart."

The Brahmo Samaj has not been negligent of Social Reform. Caste has no place in our religion. Sir Charles Maine in his "Ancient Law" tells us: "The most disastrous and blighting of all human institutions is Caste."

The Gaekwar of Baroda, the most enlightened of the Indian princes, said in one of his speeches: "The root evil is the system of caste." The Brahmo Samaj believes in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. If God is the father of all men and women, it follows that all men and women are brothers and sisters.

The Brahmo Samaj has elevated the condition of women. It has given equal education to its boys and girls. It has abolished early marriage. A girl in the Brahmo Samaj is not married generally before 20 and a boy before 25. Many Brahmo ladies occupy the pulpits in the Samaj Mandirs and deliver sermons for the edification and instruction of their brothers and sisters. Many ladies are members of the Gen-

eral and Executive Committees of the Samaj. The condition of widows in the Brahmo Samaj is happier than in the old Hindu Samaj. They are at perfect liberty to remarry if they choose. But in the Hindu Samaj if a girl of 9 years happens to become a widow, she must remain a widow all her life, while a widower of 60 can remarry a virgin of 10.

You may ask, if the religion of the Brahmo Samaj is so pure and elevating why has it then so few adherents? Even the theistic Arya Samaj which came into existence 50 years after the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj has a larger number of followers. The reason is plain. The Brahmo Samaj wants greater sacrifice from its followers than the Arya Samaj. Take for instance Caste. The Brahmo Samaj wants its members to give up caste altogether, while the Arya Samaj allows its retention in a modified form. Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, the editor of the *Modern Review*, says, "It is well known everywhere in India that caste is, with slight relaxation, firmly retained by the members of the Arya Samaj, and that is one of the main reasons why it wins so many adherents as compared with the Brahmo Samaj."

This monotheism of the Brahmo Samaj is making steady progress in Europe and America. There it is known under the name of Unitarianism and Theism. In England there are Unitarian churches. In America also there are Unitarian churches. Some of the greatest intellects of recent times, such as Dr. Channing and Dr. Martineau, were Unitarians. In other countries of Europe the monotheists call themselves the followers of liberal religion.

In India although the members of the Brahmo Samaj do not number as large as those of other Samajes, yet some of the greatest Indians have belonged to this church. Raja Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, was an intellectual giant, and is fitly called the maker of modern India. Devendranath Tagore is justly called Maharshi on account of his exemplary life and teachings. Kesav Chandra Sen, the third great leader of Brahmo Samaj, preached Monotheism in India and England. Pandit Sivanath Sastri, the founder of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, is held in the highest esteem. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the great poet and winner of the Nobel Prize, is a member of our community. Sir K. G. Gupta, the first Indian member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, is a Brahmo, Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Roy, the greatest scientists of India, are its members. Lord Sinha, the first Indian Member of the House of Lords and Governor of Behar and Orisso, is a Brahmo.

We may conclude this presentation of the pure monotheistic belief of modern India, which its adherents claim is also the ancient and vedic faith of their people, by two quotations from their sacred writings: "Religion is One, but her paths are many." "O God, whichever road I take joins the great highway which leads to Thee!" C. W. W.

SELECTED

Dante Centenary

[From recent literary notes in the Chicago *Tribune* we clip the following which will be of interest to lovers of Dante. UNITY congratulates its friend Mr. Carnovale on his project of world wide interest and wishes for it great success.—ED.]

Mr. Henry B. Fuller, who is one of our really distinguished Chicago writers, and who writes about a tenth as much as I, for one, wish he would write, has been kind enough to share with us the plans which Luigi Carnovale has made for the sixth centenary of Dante. Those plans are set forth in a handsome pamphlet in Italian, the gist of which is that an organization among the Italian-American newspapers provide: For one university, preferably the state university, in each of the forty-eight states, and for the public library of every American city with a population above 100,000, (1) a bronze tablet in honor of Dante; (2) a complete set of Dante's works; Dante features in every Italian-American newspaper of September 14; a proclamation by President Harding of a Dante memorial day, with exercises in all of the public schools of the country.

Ireland: Our Shame and Our Peril*

The tragedy of Ireland is a disease which is sapping the vitality of our State and Empire. It may be compared with the canker in some giant forest tree. The canker grows unseen, and for many years you may pass that tree and observe nothing wrong with it. For although the disease is spreading at the root and up the trunk and along the main branches all the time, yet so robust is that tree's constitution, so magnificent its vitality, that it still has strength as the seasons come along to throw up bud and leaf—so that in appearance nothing is changed. And then, one night, a great storm rages through the forest and smites the giant squarely, and in the morning you find him lying prone, and as you approach the wreck in awe and wonderment you perceive that the monarch of the vegetable kingdom, who seemed impervious to assault, was stricken with a disease and had become in his vital parts but an empty shell with the sap eaten away and corrupt.

It will be with the British Empire even as with the giant of the forest if this disease of Ireland continues to gnaw at its vitals.

We are a nation of forty millions. The Irish are a nation of five millions. The population of England is three times larger than it was 100 years ago. The population of Scotland has doubled in the past 100 years.

One hundred years ago the population of Ireland was nearly seven millions. Eighty years ago it was over eight millions. Today it is five millions.

The Irish are a prolific people. The Irish are kind to their children. Child mortality is lower in Ireland than in England or in Scotland. Statistics of illegitimacy have established that Irish women are the most chaste among white peoples. Ireland is a beautiful country. In the main it is a fertile country. It is blessed with a mild climate and with an abundant rainfall. It is a land which man should make to blossom like a rose. The Irish are a chivalrous, generous, sympathetic, artistic people.

And yet you are confronted not only with the fact that at the end of a whole century the population of Ireland shows no material increase, but that the population has actually decreased, and decreased in proportions which are unparalleled in the annals of any country inhabited by a white people during that period.

What is the explanation of this phenomenon?

The explanation is to be sought in one word—MISGOVERNMENT.

And this British nation of forty millions—which the Prime Minister recently described as having attained to the very zenith of its glory and power—this nation of forty millions is engaged at the present time in an abominable attempt to crush out the national spirit of the remnant of the Irish people by a system of calculated and deliberate barbarism, by a terror which includes incendiarism and pillage, the scientific destruction of private and public property, of villages and co-operative industries; and which includes assassination of men, women and children.

That is the spectacle for gods and men which *this nation presents to the horrified gaze of the civilized world*, and to the growing and furious resentment of

*Speech delivered by E. D. Morel at Blackness Hall, Dundee, January 28, 1921.

our cousins across the Atlantic and of our own kith and kin in the self-governing dominions.

I speak of the "nation" being guilty of this thing. That is literally true, and yet not substantially true. It is true inasmuch as the government responsible for this abomination is tolerated by the nation. It is untrue, inasmuch as the nation as a whole does not know the facts—does not know what is being committed in its name.

For that the nation really understands and realizes what is happening I cannot bring myself to believe. To believe it would be to despair of one's fellow-countrymen and women. *To believe it would be to despair of democracy.* To believe it would be to see the handwriting on the wall in letters of flame—decreeing an approaching doom as inexorable as fate.

No, I do not believe that the people of Scotland, that the people of England, understand what is happening. But it is high time they did. For all the world understands beyond these shores, and while such shaken friendships as may still remain to us may continue for a time to be proof against the gathering conviction that the actions of the British government have behind them the moral sanction of the British people —there must be a limit to such generosity of judgment.

The Labor party, which in this matter is representing what in my conviction are the true sentiments and the highest traditions of the British people, sent out, as you know, a special mission to investigate conditions. That commission included some of its best known leaders—Scotsmen and Englishmen. It included the secretary of the Irish Labor party and Trade Union Congress, and it included as military adviser a distinguished soldier—whom I am proud to count among my personal friends—General Thomson, who, besides rendering distinguished services in the war, is a man of rare experience and knowledge, and served for a year after the war as British military representative on the Supreme War Council at Versailles.

I very earnestly hope that those of you who have not read that report will make haste to do so. It is a terrible document, the more terrible because of the temperateness of the language throughout. I know of no document that can compare with it in national importance at the present time.

The Labor party is now following up that report by a campaign of great public meetings throughout the country. On the result of that campaign hangs a good deal more than the immediate problem at issue, grave as that is. If it does not arouse a storm of resentment throughout the land strong enough either to compel this wretched government to abandon its policy, to dismiss the scum it has armed for the purpose of terrorizing the Irish civilian population, to recall its regular army, and to negotiate with the Irish leaders—or, if the government will not do this, to sweep it from power—then I shall begin to believe that the pessimists are right after all, and that the soul of the English and Scotch people is indeed sick beyond cure.

For this is a moral issue; first and foremost a moral issue. It is not only the statesmanship, it is not only the reputation, *it is the honor of the nation which is at stake.*

And, although I would put no consideration higher than that, there is another consideration which the British people, and especially the British working classes, will ignore at their peril. If liberty is crushed in Ireland you may be sure that it will be crushed in Scotland and in England, too, and by the same men. The measures designed to enslave Ireland are designed by ministers who, if the opportunity offers, will apply the same measures to enslave Scotland and England too. Let there be no mistake about that. The spirit that is at work in British governing circles today in regard to Ireland is the spirit which inspired the massacre of the helpless, unarmed crowd of Indians at Amritsar last year. It is the spirit which would not hesitate to sweep with shot and shell an unarmed crowd—much nearer home. It is the revival of the spirit we deemed to have been destroyed long since—the spirit accountable for one of the most shameful deeds in our history, the spirit which, one hundred and fifty years ago, let loose the Redskins upon the American colonists, who, like the Irish today, were struggling to be free.

For between the action of Lloyd George and Winston Churchill in flinging their soldiers of fortune like ravening beasts into the midst of the Irish civilian population to shoot men without trial, to drag lads from their beds and murder them at sight, to assault women, to hold up passersby in the streets and relieve them of their valuables, to loot shops and private houses, to burn, to intimidate, to terrorize, *to make a hell upon earth for man, woman and child*—between their action and the action of North and Suffolk in letting loose the Redskins against the American colonists there is only a difference of agency and of circumstance. There is no difference of purpose or of spirit. And the masked "Black and Tan" with his loaded revolver is a more deadly brute than the Redskin with his tomahawk ever was. It is true that the "Black and Tan" has not yet gone in for scalping, but there is always room for improvement, and; after all, when you have killed your man it does not much matter whether you content yourself with lifting his purse or whether you lift his scalp in the bargain.

The burning words with which Chatham denounced the outrage are applicable to what is taking place in Ireland today: "You send forth your merciless savages against whom! Against your brethren, to lay waste their country, desolate their dwellings, extirpate their race. Spain armed herself with bloodhounds to extirpate the miserable people of the Americas! And we improve on the example of Spanish cruelty. We turn loose these hell hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties and religion."

Now let us turn from the language of denunciation to inquire how this horrible thing has come to pass. How have we got ourselves into this position? Men's memories are proverbially short. Let us look back and pick out the milestones along this tragic road of shame and error which has conducted us to where we stand today at the bar of civilized opinion.

For practical purposes we need not retrace our steps beyond the introduction of the Home Rule Bill by the Liberal government in 1912. You remember its fate. Twice passed by the Commons, twice rejected by the Lords, it was passed for the third time by the Commons in May, 1914, and would thenceforth automatically have become law under the Parliament Act.

Two months and a half later the great war broke out.

Mr. Asquith had thus broken the opposition of the Lords and got his bill through to the statute book. But he had committed a capital error. And the error

was this. In the two years which had elapsed between the introduction of the bill and its final passing, Sir Edward Carson and his followers had openly organized a rebellion to oppose by force the measure of self-government passed by the British Legislature and desired by four-fifths of the Irish people. They had done so with the support of the leaders of the Unionist party. Carson and his friends had made openly seditious speeches. They had imported tens of thousands of rifles from Germany. They had made all sorts of ridiculous threats about seceding from the Empire and joining Germany. They had announced their intention of raising a rebellion in England. Growing bolder and bolder they began to tamper with the army. They did things and said things which would have sent men in less conspicuous positions to jail over and over again.

And the government of Mr. Asquith allowed this thing to go on under their noses, and took absolutely no steps to stop it. They realized quite well what it would lead to. But they lacked the moral courage to grasp the nettle.

Mr. Asquith had the constitution and the law on his side. He allowed both to be infringed with impunity. That was the first milestone.

When the war broke out, John Redmond, the leader of the Nationalist party, did one of the most generous things in the history of British politics. I remember telling one of his most intimate and prominent colleagues at the time that, with the best of intentions, Redmond had signed his own political death warrant and the death warrant of the Irish constitutional cause. He retorted by saying that I took an altogether wrong view of the matter . . . just as I did of the war. The sequel proved only too clearly that I was right.

What was it that Redmond did? He pledged Ireland's support of the war unconditionally, joined Asquith on a recruiting platform in Dublin, and *agreed that the operation of the Home Rule Act should be suspended until after the war.* He misjudged the men he had to deal with. *He never understood the genesis of the war.* Once the pledge given and the consequences at work, he was flung aside like a soiled rag.

But here was Ireland—thanks to Redmond—cooperating for the first time for a century with England. Out of that co-operation the feuds of ages might have been buried . . . had there been the will to do so. But there was not the will to do so on this side of the channel. Slight upon slight was placed upon the Irish nationalist army. Everything that could be done was done to damp down Irish enthusiasm. Instead of being treated like a self-governing unit within the Empire, Ireland was treated as a Crown colony. Even Mr. Lloyd George admitted, at a later stage, the "malignant" stupidity of the treatment to which Ireland was subjected at this time.

The culminating blow to Ireland's aroused hopes was given when, in May, 1915, Mr. Asquith suddenly formed a coalition government, in which not only Mr. Bonar Law was included (which was of course inevitable), but in which the two bitterest foes of nationalist Ireland, Sir Edwin Carson and Sir F. E. Smith, were also included. And not only included—that would have been bad enough—but *actually entrusted with the administration of British law!* The two men who had preached open rebellion to the law, who had rendered themselves liable over and over again to prosecution under the Treason Felony Acts, were made respectively Attorney-General and Solicitor-General! Sir F. E. Smith, who had talked of hanging Asquith to a lamp-post, became Asquith's colleague. Sir Edward Carson, whose contempt for the ministry was caustically expressed when, referring to Lloyd George, he said: "When I saw him in a privy councillor's uniform I *very nearly mistook him for a gentleman,*" became Lloyd George's political bed-fellow.

Thus was the second milestone passed.

Then followed the rebellion in April, 1916. Rebellion is a big word to give to a rising which was strictly confined in its area, which was widely condemned in Ireland, and which the Irish national volunteers helped to suppress. If it had been dealt with in the spirit with which Botha dealt with the much more serious uprising of De Wet in South Africa, the blood which had been shed might have acted as a cement rather than as a dissolvent. But panic and revenge were in the ascendant, not clemency. Botha had spared De Wet and the other Dutch leaders. The Coalition spared none, and, not content with executing the leaders, arrested nearly 2,000 Irishmen, against whom they formulated no charge, and flung them into prison *and kept them there without trial.* This was done while Mr. Asquith was still premier.

Thus was the third milestone passed.

The history of 1916-1917, and the spring of 1918, is the history of the Coalition's breach of faith over the attempt to apply the Home Rule Act, which marked the closing months of Asquith's premiership; the appointment of the Irish convention in the opening months of Lloyd George's premiership; the destruction of the work of the convention and the final breach with Ireland, by Lloyd George's own action in applying conscription to Ireland, thus, once more, treating the Irish as a subject race without political rights *although the measure creating an Irish Parliament was actually on the statute book.*

That history I can merely skim. The salient facts are these. After the rebellion and the repressions, the Coalition, under Asquith, made written proposals to the Irish leaders. *An Irish Parliament was to be set up at once, with an Irish executive responsible to it.* The six counties were to be left out until the end of the war. At the end of the war a special Council of Empire, including of course representatives from the self-governing dominions, should finally decide their fate. With great difficulty the nationalists were induced to accept the proposal. The Ulster Council accepted it. Ireland waited. *But she waited in vain.* What exactly went on behind the scenes has not been fully disclosed. But the upshot was that the government declined to carry out the proposal it had made, and which had been accepted, on the ground that Mr. Asquith had discovered that the Unionist members of the Cabinet would secede.

It is almost incredible that, after this experience, Irishmen should have been induced to listen to proposals for straightening out the tangle. But they did. An Irish convention sat through the latter part of 1917 and the opening months of 1918, drawing up a scheme for Irish self-government. It was foredoomed to failure, for, by this time, the Carson faction knew that they could wreck any scheme, and Sinn Fein (which during these five troubled years had grown from an intellectual and spiritual movement into a political movement based on Ireland's absolute right to independence, to be formally demanded at the

Peace Conference) knew it too, and declined to participate.

The same month which saw the report of the Irish convention agreed to by the Nationalists and the Southern Unionists, and handed to the government, *saw the government pass the Irish Conscription Act.*

And that was the fourth milestone.

Thenceforth the road becomes lost in a bog.

All through 1918 arrest had followed arrest, deportation had followed deportation. Irish and British prisons were filled with Irishmen, untried, *and with no charge formulated against them.* With the close of the war Pharaoh hardened his heart still more.

No Home Rule Act was brought forward. Coercion tightened its grip. Between January, 1919, and March, 1920, there were 22,279 raids on private houses; 2,332 political arrests; 151 deportations; 429 proclamations suppressing meetings and newspapers. *Ireland lay under the heel of a despotism equal to that of Czarist Russia.*

And then it was that the pent-up indignation of four years burst its bonds; that Irishmen answered violence by violence; and that the shooting of constables began.

Lloyd George replied by placing Ireland under military rule, and the results of that rule are now before us.

What they are, those of you who have read the Labor report will appreciate. But I have here a number of letters I have received from Ireland in the course of the last four weeks, and they paint such a vivid picture of what is going on every day that I shall make no apology for reading you long extracts. I suppress both names and, when necessary, places, for reasons which will be apparent to you from the report of the Labor party's commission.

One of my correspondents writes as follows:

"A lorry load of 'Black and Tans,' probably all drunk, stopped two men on the road near here, and, with no provocation, tied them with ropes which they attached to the rear of the lorry. They then drove full speed ahead, dragging the men along the road behind them. After a time they looked back, and apparently the sight of two very battered and mutilated corpses must have sobered them, for they tried to destroy all traces of their handiwork. They accordingly dragged the bodies into the side of the road, poured some kerosene on them, and set them alight before driving off. For some reason, however, the fire must have gone out, for the charred remains were brought in to the priests and identified. The whole countryside is talking of it."

Here is another letter:

"The case of Father —— in a country district not far from here is awful. The 'Black and Tans' have been committing many excesses, especially on women, round the very lonely countryside (scattered villages and farms). From the confessional, Father —— was able to get a lot of evidence, identifying several members of the 'Black and Tans,' which he got up into a report to take to the 'competent military authority.' This leaked out, however, and he was visited in broad daylight by several members of the force and murdered in his own house. The priests run greater risk of their lives than anyone else in Ireland at the present moment."

Here is another:

"Cork is in an appalling state. I would like to bring to your notice the case of Mr. X, jeweler. He is an artist of the highest talent. He works in gold, silver, copper, and much of his work is equal to Benvenuto Cellini's. His cups, candelabra, chalices, monstrances, flower vases, are noted, not only here, but on the Continent; he is an antiquarian, and has revived numbers of old Irish patterns never discovered before, besides inventing many new original designs. He employed a large number of hands, whom he treated with the greatest kindness (now all thrown out of work); he is beloved by all who know him. His magnificent establishment in —— Street is now a handful of ashes. All his most beautiful works of art gone, and he, heart-broken.

"And this was done by the auxiliary police, who were enrolled for the purpose of doing it. They and some of the 'Black and Tans' first looted the jewelers' shops and the large dress emporiums and then burnt them down. *Huge parcels of immensely valuable jewelry, gold cups, etc., fur coats, lace, expensive dresses, were arriving all the night of the fires to the wives of the 'Black and Tans' and the Auxiliaries at the different hotels in Cork. They were shipped off to England the next day. One 'Black and Tan' was heard to say he should go on till he got enough to buy some land in Canada.* The looting of Cork and burning and sacking of that and the other towns was arranged months ago. . . .

"The 'Black and Tans' and the Auxiliaries are at this very moment holding up and robbing the people in Cork streets in broad daylight. Lady S was held up and robbed of her watch and her purse, with a considerable sum in it, a day or two ago. . . . I was in Cork yesterday, and at four o'clock in the afternoon the 'Black and Tans' and Auxiliaries were holding up and robbing the pedestrians, openly in broad daylight, in Patrick Street, the Mall, the Grand Parade and King Street (all the main thoroughfares of Cork).

"The way I and the party of friends I was with escaped was that we ran out of the club where we were just as a tram was passing the door, jumped in, and did not get out till we got to the railway station (the tram passes the door of the station).

"And these are the men whom the government have sent to protect us and keep order. There is a 'Black and Tan' in this town at this very moment who has a charming record as a protector of the people. His name is ——. He was married to a young girl of this town, who made him the best of wives. He treated her brutally. One day he came home in a fury and cut her throat from ear to ear. He then cut his baby's throat, who was on her lap. He then went upstairs and cut the throat of his two-year-old boy. They were all dead and the place swimming in blood when he was arrested. He got penal servitude for life. He had only done a short part of it when he was asked if he would take his freedom as a 'Black and Tan.' He jumped at it, and he is here now, and the women and children are terrified of him. *He was recognized instantly.* We are all terrified to stir out in the streets, either here or in Cork. But we are not safe in our own houses. They burst in on us in the middle of the night and raided us, to the terror of the women and children. They raided me, of which I enclose you an account. They have raided almost all the inhabitants. Some have been raided eight and nine times. There was a young Mrs. ——

here, she had a baby *two days* old. They came Sunday morning when there was no one in the house but a child of three years old. They began with their usual polite mode of addressing the women and children of Ireland (which has become a time-honored institution now): 'Open your bloody door, or we'll smash the damn thing in,' and a torrent of blows from the butt end of their rifles followed. The unfortunate woman had to get out of bed, it may prove her death and that of her baby. This is only one out of hundreds of similar cases. At the time of the burning of Mallow and Cork, and the wrecking of this town and all the other towns, *large numbers of poor women were expecting babies, others with babies only a few days old at their breasts, had to run away out into the fields up into the hills; there they had to sleep under dripping bushes and hedges, in torrents of rain and often hurricanes of wind.* I saw them here myself flying, running along with their babies in their arms, often followed by seven or eight other little children, the very young ones holding on to their poor mother's skirts, some of the older ones carrying shawls, the little tots, dollies, and even kittens, in their arms. As I watched them I felt sure the really kind-hearted English people knew nothing of what was going on here. At this moment the people are flying in shoals from Midleton (a town close here), they expect it to be burnt down tonight. A poor young wife expecting her first baby in a few days has just been to see me, she is shaking all over with terror. We fully expect that baby will be born an idiot. . . . Our state is terrible. We dare not go out by day for fear of being robbed, and we are terrified to sleep in our houses at night for fear of being raided. We implore you to come to our rescue. . . . Please don't let my name appear or I shall be shot at once. As I write comes the news that Midleton is burning, and the people flying, some in donkey-carts, some in drays; some only able to run, carrying what they can save of their household goods. Are we under the Red Indians or the Bashi-Bazouks? Oh, do help us, but *quickly,* or it will be *too late.*"

I may say that this particular correspondent was traditionally and by conviction a strong Tory loyalist? Here is a story of individual hardship which makes one's blood boil:

"May I bring to your notice the cause of Mrs. X, whose house near Midleton has just been burnt down by order of the military? Her husband died of cancer some time ago and left her with a large family to support alone. By dint of the hardest work she got together enough money to buy a piece of ground with an orchard and vegetable garden attached. She then got a vegetable and fruit stall in the market in Queenstown, and worked so hard that she was able to build a little house. She furnished it comfortably and had lately added some better class furniture to make it pleasanter for her elder children to come home to when out at work. On Saturday night she was told by the servants of the British government that her house was going to be burnt down, that she could take her valuables—presumably they thought she had a tiara of diamonds—but not her furniture. She stood on the road surrounded by her young family and watched the fruits of years of hard honest work reduced to a handful of ashes. Where was she to go? It was pouring a deluge and blowing hard. No other family dare take them in or they would share the same fate. I have known Mrs. X for years and her case is heartrending. Everyone in the county knows her, she is a most excellent good woman. She is put down as *Mr.* X in the official government list. Mark their cuteness; they *dare* not put down that they had burnt down the house of a *defenceless widow,* so they call her *Mr.* X. Do try to make this public, for by that you can measure the rest of their truthfulness. We implore you to come quickly to our help; our state is now absolutely appalling. Today martial law comes into force. Mrs. X is only one out of thousands of similar cases—widows with large families turned out, all burnt belonging to them, too old and broken-spirited to begin life again."

Such is the position of Ireland in the year of grace 1921 under the administration of a Welsh Prime Minister who, with a refinement of hypocrisy which makes one's gorge rise, dares to say to a Welsh audience:

"The need of the land is not material—it is spiritual. Get the spiritual and the material will follow. The wounds of the world are bleeding, and material things will not help them. The one need of England is the healing of the Cross."

There is no law in Ireland but the law of violence.

There is no order in Ireland but the order of destruction.

There is no policy in Ireland but the policy of murder—the murder of the body, the murder of liberty, the murder of the spirit.

Lloyd George says he has murder by the throat! By the throat? No, no! His relationship with murder is of a much more intimate kind. He is waltzing with murder as his partner down the floor of the hell he has created.

London, England. —*E. D. Morel.*

THE STUDY TABLE

"Freedom of Speech" (Zechariah Chafee)

By far the most scholarly and accurate book yet written on the subject of freedom of speech is the new work by Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Professor of Law in Harvard University. We know of no case yet made against the Espionage Act that is as strong, as fair and yet as sweeping in its indictment of the things perpetrated under this act than "Freedom of Speech."

The purpose of the book is to discuss the limits of free speech. There are two extreme views that are untenable: (1) that freedom of speech may be ignored in war time, and (2) that all speech is free and that only action can be constrained. The Blackstonian theory provides that a government cannot by injunction or censorship interfere before publication, but that it may prosecute after. It prohibits previous restraint. However, Blackstone was interpreting the English law of his time and not our Constitution. Prof. Chafee holds that it is "wholly out of accord with a common sense view of the relations of state and citizen." It is obvious that if a death penalty were imposed for the discussion of Socialism that no previous restraint would be necessary to prevent the speech or discussion. Part of the Espionage Act is much like the Blackstonian theory. Some judges have tried to draw the line between liberty and license by putting cases either side of the line, but the author reminds us that this does not help us much in determining just where the line is and that such an attempt will fall down from mere vagueness. "The right of

unrestricted discussion of public affairs . . . was in a general way what freedom of speech meant to the framers of the Constitution." In fact it was a condition of the entry of some of the states into the union.

The author discusses the doctrines of "indirect causation" and "constructive intent" and shows the danger of following them. The free speech clauses of the Constitution must be balanced against the war clauses; individual interests must be balanced against social interests; the government asserts its right to wage war while the agitator asserts his right to speak. Prof. Chafee holds that the First Amendment protects two interests—the individual's interest to express opinions and the social interest in the attainment of truth. "The great trouble with most judicial construction of the Espionage Act is that the social interest has been ignored and free speech has been regarded as merely an individual interest . . . "

Stronger legislation was demanded when we entered the war because of the fear of German propaganda and because of the recollection of the opposition to the Civil War, so that the Espionage Act was passed June 15th, 1917, adding three new offenses. On May 16th, 1918, it was amended adding nine more. These have been defended on the ground that it was feared that the "loyal public would take matters into their own hands" if the new offenses were not added.

Prof. Chafee takes as "the danger test" these words of Justice Holmes:

> The question in every case is whether the words are used in such *circumstances* and are *of such a nature* as to create a *clear and present danger* that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent.

It should make a difference whether one says, "This is an unwise war" or "You ought to refuse to go, no matter what they do to you." It should make a difference whether one is speaking to a group at an old ladies' home or to a number of drafted men starting for a training camp. Somewhere between these cases direct causation (as opposed to *indirect causation,* which is based on a *supposed bad tendency*) begins, and speech becomes punishable for incitement.

The author discusses the human machinery of the law and points out clearly the defects. When crimes are defined in sweeping terms the jury becomes the sole judge and it is shown that they were often the victims of hysteria. Many thought that the only verdict that could show loyalty in a time of war was "guilty." The juries were often made up of men who were opposed to the prisoners and hardly in a position to understand the views of a man opposed to the war for economic or other reasons. Such was the case in the Debs trial.

In discussing the District Court cases this great legal leader says: "Almost all of the convictions have been for expressions of opinion about the merits and conduct of the war." It became a crime for Mrs. Stokes to discuss profiteering, for example. It is significant that some of the trial judges had their say from the bench on such subjects as economics, religion, morality and politics. Judges allowed points to go to the jury that they were incompetent to decide. The tactics of the Department of Justice may have had some influence. It is charged "that special agents have watched the proceedings of the courts and the district attorneys, swift to report to Washington any charge or action which has seemed to their excited temper not to measure up to the full standard of patriotic duty."

One of the most interesting cases considered at length in the book is that of "The United States vs. Jacob Abrams et al." The author shows that Abrams and his associates were probably convicted on a false theory of guilt and adds that a great injustice has been done because "our highest court felt powerless to wipe it out."

Legislation against sedition is next taken up. He tells how Attorney General Palmer appealed for stronger legislation, why he did so and considers the difference between the Normal Law and the new legislation. One of the most interesting parts of the book is that in which he dwells on the "wisdom and expediency of a federal sedition law." He says that such a law would be difficult to construe, that those who use revolutionary language almost invariably have a grievance and that it is well to listen to them, and that such an act would suppress much discussion not properly within its range. Under such an act books could be suppressed for a single revolutionary statement, Harvard would not be able to collect data on the Rusian revolution as it is now planning to do and historical quotations of certain kinds could not be reprinted.

He says that "this law is a kindergarten measure which assumes that the American people are so stupid and so untrustworthy that it is unsafe to let them read anything about anarchy and criminal syndicalism because they would immediately become converted."

The chapters on the deportations and on "Wilkes and His Successors" are also very good. The concluding one, "Freedom and Initiative in the Schools," is on the level with the others.

The book is not only a masterpiece from the point of view of scholarship, but it is not without touches of humor. The reviewer cannot refrain from quoting this paragraph from the concluding chapter:

> In war time—people will say, "We don't care what sort of war it is. My country right or wrong. Let us go ahead." It is something like the colored man who went with his son to rob a hen coop, and sent his son inside. The boy turned and stuck his head out of the door and said, "Father, am dis right?" And the father said, "Dat am a great moral question. We will argue it out at home dis evening. You get busy and hand out dem chickens."

NORMAN E. HIMES.

THE LITTLE CHILDREN OF THE STREET

The little children of the street
May hold a vision doubly sweet
And doubly noble, in the part
That it is born from out the heart.

The children of the desert plain
May bring a Lincoln in their train,
And Michael Angelo may be
Excelled by one we yet will see.

Perhaps the dream that Wagner knew
May rise again from where the blue
Ohio's wide expanse divides
The North and South with changeless tides.

Or Shakespeare's genius may be found
Where dark, greed-ridden slums surround;
And Paganini's vibrant string
May throb again, a living thing.

I know no matter what the curse
Laid on the race by power of purse
There is that spark within the heart
Of little children that is Art!

—JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

THE FIELD.

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

TWO IMPORTANT "DRIVES."

For the benefit of our readers who are interested in the problem of race relations, we are glad to give the addresses of the two organizations which are this month conducting a campaign for funds for the support of the much needed work of promoting friendly relations among white and colored people in this country. (See editorial, p. 85.)

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has its main office at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Mr. Moorfield Storey is its President and Mr. J. E. Spingarn its Treasurer. Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois is Editor of its official monthly, *The Crisis*. Mr. William Pickens, who will address the Lincoln Centre Forum on Sunday afternoon, April 17, is Associate Field Secretary. Among its Vice-Presidents are Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Oswald Garrison Villard. Membership in the Association costs $1.00 and upward, contributions of $2.00 and upward bringing with them a year's subscription to *The Crisis*. The Chicago office is at 3201 S. Wabash, Dr. Charles E. Bentley being President and Mrs. Olivia Bush Banks, Secretary.

The National Urban League has its main offices at 127 East 23rd Street, New York City. Mr. L. Hollingsworth Wood is President and Mr. E. Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary. Mr. Horace J. Bridges of the Chicago Ethical Society is President of the Chicago Branch, and Mr. T. Arnold Hill is the Executive Secretary, the Chicago office being at 3032 S. Wabash Avenue. This Branch has been doing splendid service in the present unemployment crisis, and is daily feeding hundreds who are without work. It is planning to raise $30,000 in the present drive.

No one who attended the annual meeting of the Chicago Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. last year at the Wendell Phillips High School, Prairie Avenue, Chicago, will ever forget that stirring meeting and the magnificent address of one of the Association's Vice-Presidents, John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church of New York. We are glad to be able to announce that Mr. Holmes will again address a mass meeting at the same place on the same subject of Race Relations, on Friday evening, April 15th, at 8 o'clock. The public will be welcome and no one, white or black, can afford to miss so human and inspiring an occasion.

Q.

LINCOLN CENTRE LECTURE COURSE.

"The Sociology of Peace"

The Education Committee of Lincoln Centre, Mrs. I. S. Rosenfels, Chairman, is glad to announce a course of four lectures on "The Sociology of Peace" by Professor Ellwood Faris of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago. The Committee feels that now that the war is past, the time is ripe for a calm, dispassionate, scientific study of the sociologic causes of War and the psychology and sociology of Peace. Professor Faris is eminently fitted to conduct such a study, and every thinking person in the city, whether a militarist or a pacifist, should avail themselves of this opportunity for scientific work. The lectures will be held on four Thursday mornings at eleven o'clock in Emerson Hall, Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago. Course tickets will cost $2.00; single lectures, fifty cents. The dates and topics are as follows:

April 7: "Mobs and Mob Mind."
April 14: "Peace and the Fighting Instinct."
April 21: "Selfishness, Unselfishness and Nationalism."
April 28: "The Real Causes of War."

Luncheon will be served after each lecture. Per plate, 35 cents.

LINCOLN CENTRE FORUM.

The first meeting of the Lincoln Centre Forum was held last Sunday afternoon, April 3, and gives good promise of becoming a successful and permanent institution. Despite the enticing Spring weather, about eighty-five persons gathered to listen to the music of the Lincoln Centre Orchestra, join in the community singing and hear the interesting address by Professor E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin on the subject, "The Man-Made World."

The second meeting will be held next Sunday, April 10, and will form part of the European Food Drive, the address being by Judge Harry Fisher of the Food Administration, and the proceeds of the collection and any subscriptions that may be made going entire to the Food Fund.

The other two topics for the April series are:

April 17: Race Relations. Speakers, William Pickens, Associate Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Graham R. Taylor, of the Lowden Race Commission.

April 24: Poetry Reading, Carl Sandburg.

I have a vision . . .
Of a new republic, brighter than the sun,
A new race, loftier faith, this land of ours
Made over as to people, boys and girls,
Conserved like forests, water power or mines;
Watched, tested, put to best use, keen economies
Practiced in spirits, waste of human life,
Hope, aspiration, talent, virtues, powers,
Avoided by a science, science of life,
Of spirit, what you will. Enough of war,
And billions for the flag—all well enough!
Some billions now to make democracy
Democracy in truth with us, and life
Not helter-skelter, hitting as it may,
And missing much.

—*Edgar Lee Masters.*

THE WAYS OF THE GODS

By ALGERNON SIDNEY CRAPSEY

(International Press, 150 Lafayette Street, New York)

Is attracting wide and favorable notice. The New York *Herald* speaks of it as "an historical and sociological study vast in range and original in conception." The *Evening Post* says, "it is simply and intelligibly written." The Chicago *Herald-Examiner* calls it a "Flaming Book." The *Ethical News Notes* of Philadelphia speaks of each chapter as "a fascinating short story." The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* says "a place should be found for it on the family bookshelf." The Boston *Globe* remarks, "Written in simple English the book is in reality the romance of the Gods and apart from the information it provides it is an entrancing story."

"The Ways of the Gods" is passing to its second printing.

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